

# TELEGRAM

Foreign Service of the  
United States of America

INCOMING AMERICAN EMBASSY BONN

65

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SECRET

Classification

Control: 118

AMB

FROM: GENEVA

Recd: AUGUST 4, 1959

DCM

NUMER: 52, AUGUST 4, 2 PM

4:55 PM

POL/

TYLESENT DEPT CAHO 204 RPTD INFO BONN 52

EYES ONLY AMBASSADOR

HERewith (1) OUR TRANSLATION OF LETTER FROM ADENAUER TO  
SECRETARY DELIVERED BY VON BRENTANO JULY 31, AND (2)  
SECRETARY'S REPLY TO ADENAUER HANDED VON BRENTANO  
AUG 3:

1. BEGIN TEXT

DEAR MR. HERTER: FEDERAL MINISTER LEMMER HAS OFFICIALLY  
REPORTED TO ME THE CONVERSATION WHICH YOU HAD WITH HIM IN THE  
PRESENCE OF MAYOR AMREHN DURING YOUR VISIT TO BERLIN.  
FROM HIS DESCRIPTION OF THIS CONVERSATION I AM FORCED TO  
ASSUME THAT YOU ARE NOT RPT. NOT CORRECTLY INFORMED ABOUT  
MY POSITION ON THE QUESTION OF REUNIFICATION. TO MAKE THIS  
POSITION CLEAR I AM ACCORDINGLY MAKING THE FOLLOWING  
REMARKS.

IN THE SOVIET VIEW, AS HAS BECOME CLEAR RECENTLY IN THE  
STATEMENTS OF THE ALL- POWERFUL LEADER KHRUSHCHEV, ANY  
LIBERATION OF THE GERMANS IN THE SOVIET ZONE FROM SOVIET  
HEGEMONY IS AS LITTLE LIKELY AT THE PRESENT TIME THROUGH  
POLITICAL MEANS AS WELL LIBERATION OF THE POPULATION OF  
THE SATELLITE STATES FROM THE SAME REGIME. THE SOVIET UNION  
WOULD APPROVE THE REUNIFICATION OF THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC AND  
THE SOVIET ZONE IN THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE ONLY UNDER CONDITIONS  
WHICH WOULD INSURE THE DOMINANCE OF THE COMMUNISM IN WEST  
GERMANY. SUCH A REUNIFICATION I REFUSE; SINCE THROUGH IT  
THE SEVENTEEN MILLION GERMANS IN THE SOVIET ZONE WOULD NOT  
RPT NOT BE HELPED AND SINCE THE FIFTY MILLION GERMANS WHO  
HAVE BEEN FREE UP TO THE PRESENT WOULD BE ENSLAVED, MERELY  
TO COMPLY WITH A FORMALISTIC CONCEPTION OF REUNIFICATION.

IT WOULD BE EVIDENCE OF LACK OF UNDERSTANDING OF THE CHARACTER

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OF A TOTALITARIAN REGIME IF ONE WERE TO SUPPOSE THAT, THROUGH LINKING A COMMUNISTIC WITH A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IN A SINGLE STATE, A HERE EQUILIBRIUM OF FORCES COULD BE ACHIEVED. EVEN UNDER BETTER CONDITIONS, TO NAME JUST A FEW EXAMPLES, THE DEMOCRATIC SYSTEMS IN THE BALTIC STATES OR IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, COULD NOT RPT NOT ENDURE, ALTHOUGH THE OVERWHELMING MAJORITY OF THE POPULATIONS WAS NOT RPT NOT COMMUNIST. I MUST THEREFORE MAINTAIN MY RESERVE AGAINST ALL PROPOSALS WHICH IN ORDER TO ACHIEVE REUNIFICATION WOULD ENDANGER FREEDOM. I THEREFORE ALSO REJECT THE "GERMAN PLAN" OF THE SPD AND SIMILAR PROPOSALS. ONLY WHEN THE FREE WEST THROUGH ITS POLICIES HAS ACHIEVED A CONDITION UNDER WHICH THE SOVIET UNION NO RPT NO LONGER REGARDS THE SOVIET ZONE OF GERMANY AS AN IMPORTANT STRONG-POINT IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST AND THEREFORE ABANDONS THE MAINTENANCE OF THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN THE SOVIET ZONE, WILL REUNIFICATION AND FREEDOM BECOME A POLITICAL POSSIBILITY. UNDER SUCH CONDITIONS, IN MY VIEW, REUNIFICATION MUST BE ACHIEVED AS QUICKLY AS POSSIBLE WITHOUT REGARD TO THE INTERNAL POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES WHICH WOULD RESULT OR TO THE ECONOMIC SACRIFICES WHICH MIGHT BE INVOLVED FOR THE POPULATION OF THE PRESENT FEDERAL REPUBLIC.

YOU TOLD ME WHEN TAKING OVER YOUR OFFICE THAT YOU WOULD LIKE TO HAVE DEVELOP BETWEEN YOU AND ME THE SAME OFFICIAL AND FRIENDLY RELATIONSHIPS THAT EXISTED BETWEEN JOHN FOSTER DULLES AND ME. THIS IS ALSO MY WISH. THE RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN MR. DULLES AND MYSELF RESTED UPON FULLEST MUTUAL FRANKNESS AND TRUTHFULNESS. I BELIEVE THAT MY FRANK EXPLANATION SHOULD DISPEL ANY LACK OF CLARITY ABOUT MY POSITION AND SHOULD SERVE TO DEEPEN OUR RELATIONSHIP. WITH THIS MOTIVE IN MIND I SEND YOU THE PRESENT LETTER. SIGNED ADENAUER.

END TEXT

2. BEGIN TEXT

AUGUST 3, 1959

DEAR DR. ADENAUER: I APPRECIATED RECEIVING YOUR FRANK EXPRESSION OF VIEWS ON THE QUESTION OF GERMAN REUNIFICATION.

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AS YOU INDICATED, SUCH FRANKNESS IS A NECESSARY INGREDIENT OF THE KIND OF RELATIONSHIP OF MUTUAL TRUST AND FRIENDSHIP WHICH, I KNOW, WE BOTH WISH TO HAVE DEVELOP BETWEEN US. THIS IS SOMETHING WHICH I NOT RPT NOT ONLY PERSONALLY DESIRE, BUT WHICH I BELIEVE TO BE ESSENTIAL TO THE FULLEST HARMONIZATION OF THE POLICIES OF OUR GOVERNMENTS.

IT IS IMPOSSIBLE TO DISAGREE WITH YOUR REALISTIC VIEW THAT THE SOVIETS WILL NOT RPT NOT PERMIT THE REUNIFICATION OF GERMANY, EXCEPT ON TERMS IMPLYING THE COMMUNIZATION OF THE ENTIRE COUNTRY, UNTIL A POSSIBLE POINT HAS BEEN REACHED WHERE THEY ARE WILLING TO CONSIDER ABANDONING THE COMMUNIST SYSTEM IN THE SOVIET ZONE BECAUSE THEY NO RPT NO LONGER REGARD THIS AREA AS SIGNIFICANT IN THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE EAST AND THE WEST. THIS HAS BEEN AMPLY EVIDENCED BY THE POSITION TAKEN BY MR. GROMYKO ON REUNIFICATION DURING THE COURSE OF THE CURRENT GENEVA CONFERENCE. I NEED NOT RPT NOT TELL YOU. HOWEVER, THAT CONSTANT PRESSURE FROM THE WEST IN ADVOCACY OF REUNIFICATION IS REQUIRED TO KEEP BEFORE THE EYES OF THE WORLD AND THE GERMAN PEOPLE THE HARSH REALITY OF SOVIET OBDRACY WHICH LIES AT THE BOTTOM OF THE CONTINUED DIVISION OF THE COUNTRY.

I REGRET VERY MUCH IF MY LUNCHEON REMARKS TO FEDERAL MINISTER LEHNER GAVE THE IMPRESSION THAT I WAS NOT RPT NOT FULLY AWARE OF THE BASIC AGREEMENT IN OUR THINKING IN THIS MATTER. YOU WILL UNDOUBTEDLY HAVE RECEIVED FROM FOREIGN MINISTER VON BREITENBURG FULL REPORTS OF THE POSITION CONSISTENTLY TAKEN BY THE WESTERN POWERS AT GENEVA IN REJECTING THE SOVIET PROPOSAL FOR AN ALL-GERMAN COMMITTEE. THROUGH THE INSTRUMENTALITY OF SUCH A BODY, THE SOVIETS PRESUMABLY WOULD HOPE TO MOVE TOWARDS THEIR DUAL OBJECTIVES OF ENHANCING THE STATUS OF THE SO-CALLED GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC AND MAXIMIZING THE INFLUENCE OF COMMUNISM THROUGHOUT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC WITHOUT CONTRIBUTING IN THE SLIGHTEST TO THE ACHIEVEMENT OF THAT REUNIFICATION IN FREEDOM WHICH CAN BE THE ONLY KIND OF REUNIFICATION ACCEPTABLE TO THE WEST.

WITH HARIEST PERSONAL REGARDS,

HST SINCERELY  
CHRISTIAN A. HERTER

SECRET

HERTER